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Taiwan and Hong Kong: No Parallel

“One country -- two systems”?

After the Sino-British accord on the future of Hong Kong -- initialed on 26 September 1984 -- the Peking authorities stated that the idea of “one country -- two systems” would also be suitable for Taiwan. On the basis of this principle Taiwan could -- according to the Peking authorities -- be “peacefully reunified” with China and become a “Special Administrative Region”, enjoying “exclusive rights.”

On the following pages we present the views and comments by a number of prominent native Taiwanese leaders, both in the United States and in Taiwan itself. A strong consensus can be found in these responses on a number of points, which we summarize here:

- Taiwan and Hong Kong are two entirely different places; no parallel can be drawn;
- China’s guarantees regarding basic freedoms, and political and economic freedom are totally unreliable, just look at the situation in Tibet, and even in China itself;
- The future of Taiwan and the Pescadores must be decided solely by the 18.5 million people living there - on the basis of the principle of self-determination, as laid down in Article 1 (2) of the Charter of the United Nations;
- An essential first step on the road towards a peaceful solution of the Taiwan question is an end to martial law on Taiwan and the establishment of a democratic political system on the island.



KMT throwing a temper tantrum beneath the Sino-British negotiating table

The Kuomintang authorities in Taipei issued a statement on September 26, 1984, saying that *they* should be entitled to sovereignty over Hong Kong, and that they would not recognize the Sino-British accord.

Opposition magazines in Taiwan poked fun at this statement, and published cartoons such as the one reprinted here, showing the Taiwan authorities throwing a temper-tantrum under the Sino-British negotiating table.

Maybe good for Hong Kong; wrong for Taiwan

The Sino-British accord and the subsequent remarks by the Communist Chinese leaders about the implications for Taiwan prompted an immediate response from Taiwanese leaders and human rights organizations in the United States. Professor Trong R. Chai wrote an article in the **Christian Science Monitor**, while Dr. Mark Chen (president of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs) and Mr. Roger Rumpf (associate director of the Asia Resource Center) published statements in the **Washington Post** and **New York Times** respectively. Below you find several quotes from Professor Chai's article and Dr. Chen's letter:

Dr. Chai: Will the Chinese keep their promise and allow Hong Kong to maintain its own social and economic systems for half a century after 1997? Unfortunately, the agreement is silent on how the guarantee will be enforced. But the experience of the Tibetans might provide an answer. In 1951, China and Tibet signed an agreement. Article 4 states that "the central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet. The central authorities also will not alter the established status, functions, and powers of the Dalai Lama." Less than eight years later, in March 1959, China invaded Tibet and drove the Dalai Lama out of his country. (....)

Even assuming that the formula (to incorporate Hong Kong into China) can safeguard the freedom of Hong Kong, it is still not applicable to Taiwan, for these two places differ in several significant ways:

- a. Geography: Annexation of Taiwan by China is geographically much less feasibly than its annexation of Hong Kong: Taiwan is 110 miles off the Chinese coast, with a land area 40 times as big as Hong Kong's.
- b. Population: A great majority of the five million people in Hong Kong today are postwar Chinese immigrants and their descendants, who tend to identify them-

selves as Chinese. But 85 percent of the 18.5 million people on Taiwan are native Taiwanese, whose ancestors went to Taiwan from China several hundred years ago.

- c. Legal status: China ceded Hong Kong island to Britain in 1841 and Kowloon in 1860, and leased the New Territories for 99 years in 1898. Britain owns Hong Kong and is legally entitled to settle its ownership with China. Taiwan is a different case. The island was ceded by China to Japan in 1895. As a result of the Japanese defeat in World War II, Japan signed the Peace Treaty of San Francisco with the Allied Powers in 1951, in which “Japan renounces all right, title, and claim to Formosa [Taiwan] and the Pescadores.” The Treaty does not specify who would be the beneficiary of these islands, and thus the US. maintained that their legal status was unsettled.

This position was repeated by a State Department statement on April 28, 1971: “In our view, sovereignty over Taiwan and the Pescadores is an unsettled question, subject to future international resolution.” The U.S. did not change its position in the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972, in which it just acknowledged not recognized -- the Chinese claim that there is “but one China and ... Taiwan is part of China.”

Dr. Chai concluded:

Therefore, no governing body -- not the People’s Republic of China, not the U.S., not the Kuomintang that rules Taiwan -- can settle the future of Taiwan. Taiwan belongs to the people on Taiwan, and only the islanders can determine their own political future. Just as the Republicans pledged, in their 1984 platform, to “fully support self-determination for the People of Hong Kong,” Americans should uphold the principle of self-determination -- not the Hong Kong formula -for the solution of the Taiwan question.

Dr. Mark Chen: “Self-determination is best”

In his statement published in the **Washington Post**, Dr. Chen particularly criticized a remark made by Communist Chinese leader Teng Hsiao-ping:

“... Teng called reunification with Taiwan an “irresistible trend, rooted in the hearts of all descendants of the Yellow Emperor.” Teng apparently believes that the Taiwan issue resembles the question of the division of Korea. In other words, everyone involved longs for reunification, and only ideological and policy differences between rival governments stand in the way.

In fact, the overwhelming majority of the people on Taiwan do not wish to be ruled by China. They reject the claims to sovereignty over the island of both Teng's government and the Nationalist Chinese dictatorship that presently rules the island by force. If given a free choice, most Taiwanese would support the call of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, the largest Christian denomination on the island, for Taiwan to become an independent and democratic country.

Certainly, it is true that 99 percent of the people on the island are of Chinese ancestry, just as it is true that most of the original American citizens were of British ancestry. However, Teng's appeal to the Yellow Emperor as the symbol of "irresistible" reunification is as absurd as an appeal to Americans for "reunification" from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, based on the memory of King George III. (...)"

Dr. Chen concluded his letter with an appeal for support for the principle of self-determination:

"Self-determination -- not the logic of an "irresistible trend" is the best way, morally and pragmatically, to resolve the issue of Taiwan's future. The United States must continue to support this right of the people in Taiwan."

Tangwai: Taiwanese want to determine own future

The Sino-British accord on the future of Hong Kong provided native Taiwanese opposition leaders in Taipei with an excellent opportunity to question the wisdom of the "recover the mainland" policy of the Chinese Nationalist authorities. In interpellations in the Legislative Yuan in the beginning of October, opposition *tangwai* legislators stated that the present Kuomintang policies have led to further isolation of Taiwan in the international arena, and that new, bold policies are required, so that Taiwan could break out of its isolation. Mr. Chiang Peng-chien, a prominent lawyer and a new *tangwai* member of the Legislative Yuan, suggested in an interpellation on October 1, 1984 that Taiwan broaden its participation in international organizations. He stated that Taiwan should emphasize that -- like China - it is a separate political entity that should be allowed to participate in international organizations.

In an interpellation on October 8, Mrs. Hsu Jung-shu, a second-term *tangwai* legislator and wife of imprisoned opposition leader Chang Chun-hung, pointed out that the KMT authorities' ineptitude in handling the Hong Kong question could have serious

implications for the future of Taiwan. She said the Taiwanese are increasingly worried that Taiwan will become a second Hong Kong. She said the agreement between the British and the Chinese about the future of Hong Kong taught the Taiwanese an important lesson -- the Taiwanese must take the initiative to determine their own future.

In a joint interpellation on October 12, seven *tangwai* legislators stated that China wants to use the Hong Kong model -- “one country, two systems” -- to lull the KMT authorities to the negotiating table. They said they believed the government stance of “no compromise, no contact, and no negotiation” and “not to yield, not to withdraw” were just empty phrases. If Taiwan really is to become a full member of the international community, the government should adopt new ideas, such as deciding Taiwan’s future status on the basis of the principle of self-determination. The idea of reunification with the mainland under the Three Peoples’ Principles -- the goal of the Kuomintang -- is an empty slogan.

In an interpellation on October 16, Mrs. Yu Chen Yueh-ying, speaking on behalf of the seven *tangwai* legislators, again brought up the issue: she pointed out that the Kuomintang government had maintained that the question of the future status of Hong Kong should be decided by the residents of the territory themselves, through the process of self-determination. Wouldn’t it be logical, she asked, if this principle would also be applicable to Taiwan? Shouldn’t the future status of Taiwan be determined by the 18.5 million people on the island?

Premier Yu Kuo-hwa “dangers of separation”

The series of interpellations described above put Prime Minister Yu Kuo-hwa on the defensive: on the one hand he had to emphasize the differences between Taiwan and China, while on the other hand he needed to retain the Kuomintang’s anachronistic claim of sovereignty over China.

This brought out the old canard that “self-determination will present an excuse to the Chinese Communists to use military force to invade Taiwan.” This scare-tactic has been used over and over by the Taiwan authorities to prevent the spreading of the idea of self-determination among the people of the island. It is obvious that democracy and self-determination would bring about a representative political system in Taiwan and would reduce the influence of the mainlander old guard -- such as Premier Yu Kuo-hwa - which came over from the mainland with Chiang Kai-shek.

In response to Mrs. Yu Chen Yueh-ying's question Prime Minister Yu made the following statement:

“Hong Kong is a British colony, which is in danger of being taken over by the Chinese Communists. Taiwan, however, stands in its own right as a province of the Republic of China, which is an independent political entity with land, people and sovereignty. There is no problem at all regarding Taiwan's status, and the status of the ROC as an independent nation is an irrefutable fact” (China Post, October 17, 1984).

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *Mr. Yu's statement shows how much the KMT authorities are steeped in their ostrich policy. They do not seem to be able to comprehend that their insistence on “recovery of the mainland” and their continuation of the claim that “Taiwan is a province of China” presents a good excuse for the PRC to claim that it will make the island “return to the bosom of the motherland.” The KMT authorities would do well to realize that Taiwan can only resist the PRC's pressure if the island's population is unified. This can only come about when martial law has ended and a truly free and democratic political system has come into being.*

“Why Peking's reunification drive has hit a stone wall”

By Prof. Parris Chang

On August 30, 1984 Professor Parris H. Chang -- a well-known Taiwanese American scholar -presented a paper at a meeting of the American Political Science Association in Washington D.C. Below you find the main points from this presentation. An abridged version was published in **Newsweek**, December 3, 1984. We thank professor Chang for his permission to quote from his paper.

Professor Chang started with an overview of the efforts made by the Peking authorities aimed at reunifying Taiwan with the mainland. He discussed Marshal Yeh Chian-ying's September 1981 nine-point proposal and the June 1983 remarks by Teng Hsiao-ping to Winston Yang of Seton Hall University. With regard to the latter, professor Chang stated:

“Teng reportedly made a significantly new proposal by offering to (1) allow Taiwan to acquire weapons abroad; (2) to retain independent law-making powers without interference from the mainland government; (3) to issue passports and to issue visa's to foreign visitors; and (4) to use its own flag and use the name “China, Taiwan.” If true, this proposal would be more conciliatory and went far beyond the 9-point proposal made by Marshal Yeh in September 1981.

However, there is no official confirmation of such proposal from Peking. As a matter of fact, an official version of the interview and Teng's remarks on reunification differed and contradicted Dr. Yang's account. The report released by the official New China News Agency utterly omitted the four points noted above, which some commentators considered to be significant. Although the official text quotes Teng Hsiao-ping as saying that the talks between the KMT and the CCP would be "talks between the two parties on an equal basis ... rather than negotiations between central and local authorities," he made it quite clear that after reunification the Taiwan authorities would become a local government and that only the PRC would be entitled to represent China in the international arena.

Why such a discrepancy between the two accounts ? Did Yang misquote and over-state Teng's offer ? if not, is it possible that Teng did say those things reported in Yang's article, but decided to delete them before the text of the talks was made public ? If so, why? Whether or not the PRC officials realize it, the episode has severely undercut Yang's reliability as a messenger. Likewise it has widened Peking's credibility gap."

Professor Chang then analyzed the strongly negative response to China's overtures, both by the Kuomintang as among the native Taiwanese:

"... The reasons behind the KMT's seemingly obdurate stance are many and complex (...) Three major political considerations appear to have dictated Taipei's basic approach to Peking and precluded a more flexible response to the communist peace offensive. First of all, inasmuch as the nationalist government still claims to be the sole legitimate government of China, of which Taiwan is only a province, and justifies on such a claim its authoritarian rule over the native Taiwanese, who comprise 85 % of the population on the island, it cannot afford to negotiate with the "Communist bandits" on unification. To accept Peking's proposal for negotiation would be tantamount to affirming legitimacy of the Peking regime as China's rightful government, and at the same time destroy its own claim to power in Taiwan.

Secondly, at least some KMT officials are fearful that once Taipei consents to conduct the talks for unification, Washington might suspend the arms sales to Taipei, either voluntarily or as a result of pressure from the PRC. Such a development would demoralize Taiwan and severely weaken Taipei's position.

Thirdly, because of the longtime indoctrination, many people in Taiwan are strongly anti-communist and harbor grave apprehension toward the Peking regime.

Hence the KMT leadership does not want to unwittingly alarm the public, or worse, risk a popular uprising, if the people on the island, native Taiwanese and mainlanders alike, misconstrue any display by the KMT of the slightest interest in negotiations with Peking as a prelude to “sellout.” Thus, the KMT authorities have time and again pledged “no negotiations, no compromise, no contacts” with the Communists.

Professor Chang subsequently discussed how native Taiwanese view China’s offers:

... the KMT powerholders are not the only people who reject Peking’s unification offer. Contrary to the belief of the leaders in Peking, few among the people in Taiwan really want reunification, which they see as a catastrophe if brought about by the Communists, and a mission impossible under KMT auspices.

... there is wide-spread apprehension, warranted or not, especially among the Taiwanese, that the KMT leadership might some day strike a bargain with Peking without their knowledge and approval. A number of Taiwanese leaders inside and outside the KMT have noticed that in Taiwan’s crucial negotiations with the U.S. in December 1978 in the wake of Washington’s de-recognition of the Republic of China, no Taiwanese was included in Taiwan’s delegation.

Despite the fact that in recent years the Taiwanese have become more assertive and outspoken politically, and that more native Taiwanese have been coopted into the mainlander-dominated leadership structure, the effective and ultimate decision-making power still rests in the hands of President Chiang Ching-kuo and a small group of advisers around him. Unless the KMT government in Taiwan becomes truly representative and is based on a majority rule, it will not possess necessary popular trust, and without such a trust, it will lack popular support needed to bargain with the Communists, let alone a mandate to negotiate and determine Taiwan’s future destiny.”

“few among the people in Taiwan really want reunification, which they see as a catastrophe if brought about by the Communists, and a mission impossible under RMT auspices.”

Professor Parris H. Chang

Professor Chang then discussed the flaws in Peking’s reunification campaign:

“Aside from scoring some propaganda points initially, so far, Peking’s peace offensive has not accomplished much, and the goal of Taiwan’s peaceful reunifi-

cation with the mainland is still light-years away. Although Peking blames this on the powerful and the rich in Taiwan and on the U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, the main obstacle is really Peking itself.

This is because Peking's proposals for reunification have been highly unrealistic and unreasonable. The offer to let Taiwan have a "high degree of autonomy" as a special administrative region, and retain its armed forces, socioeconomic system and foreign cultural and economic ties may sound generous, but it does not sell in Taiwan because it has all of these and more - it is already an independent political entity and enjoys all the benefits Peking offers to "grant." If the people and the government in Taipei agree to reunification on these terms, they would be giving up very much in return for very little. And what Teng Hsiao-ping called "talks between the two parties on an equal basis" would be a sham, because he has already predetermined Taiwan's status as a local government.

Moreover, in spite of Teng's assurance that the mainland would not swallow up Taiwan, Peking's actions convey a diametrically different message."

Professor Chang then discussed the efforts by the PRC to oust Taiwan from the Asian Development Bank and Interpol. He concluded:

"The glaring discrepancy between Peking's words and deeds neither bridges its credibility gap, nor helps persuade the Nationalists to come to the negotiating table.

Likewise, Peking's offer to let Taiwan keep its autonomy, and retain its free economy and armed forces as a guarantee of such autonomy, simply lacks credibility. Besides, the PRC objection to Taiwan's acquisition of arms from the U.S. makes a mockery of the offer.

Another basic flaw in Peking's campaign is that the PRC leaders are still quite ignorant of what is going on in Taiwan. Hence their approach has reflected a genuine lack of understanding about situations there. Important as reunification is, for instance, Peking tends to treat it as an issue to be resolved solely by a handful of leaders on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. (...)

People who have common sense know well that the conditions for Taiwan to be peacefully reunified with the mainland do not exist today. It will take time and hard work for Peking to cultivate these conditions. One such condition is that China modernize its economy and substantially raise the standard of living on the

mainland. Another is that the Communist leadership institute a rule of law, practice democracy, and show a greater respect for people's freedoms and human rights. If the Communists cannot do better than the Nationalists, they should at least not fare worse. Thirdly, Peking must convince people in Taiwan that they have something to gain and that their security, freedoms, careers and living standards would not suffer. Above all, a sense of mutual trust and goodwill has to be fostered, after more than three decades of mutual recrimination, suspicion, and hostility.

While Hong Kong's history is vastly different from that of Taiwan, and their situations are not entirely identical, what happens to Hong Kong in the future will inevitably have implications for Taiwan also. People in Hong Kong, and in Taiwan as well, are wondering whether or not the Communist authorities will allow Hong Kong to practice genuine self-rule without interference. Will Peking really tolerate a free press and a free economy in Hong Kong? Can the PRC maintain stability and prosperity in Hong Kong? If the PRC fails to deliver what it has promised on Hong Kong, Peking's cause for peaceful unification with Taiwan will probably be lost forever."

Freedom of the Press?

The Kuomintang reaches a censorship landmark

Since the beginning of 1984, Taiwan has seen an unprecedented rise in press censorship. Below we present the information *Taiwan Communiqué* had compiled as of the end of October 1984. This amounted to **100 individual actions** by the Taiwan authorities. However, as this issue was going to press we received a substantial amount of additional information, resulting in a total "censorship score" for the Taiwan authorities of 172 individual actions. We will present this information in the next issue of *Taiwan Communiqué*.

The censorship was mostly directed against Taiwanese opposition magazines, but -- in particular during April -- also against several Western publications, such as **The Asian Wall Street Journal**, **TIME** and **Newsweek**, which carried articles not to the liking of Taiwan's secret police. Most opposition magazines were able to continue publishing in spite of the severe restrictions imposed by the authorities. However, one opposition magazine -- The Statesman -- closed down permanently.

Daily newspapers, radio and television remained under close control of the ruling Nationalist Chinese Kuomintang. Since the authorities do not allow new daily

newspapers to be established, the native Taiwanese opposition is left with only weekly and monthly magazines as a medium for expression of different views.

The wave of confiscations and bannings which occurred from February through October 1984 (and presently still is continuing) was prompted by a variety of “forbidden” topics. The main ones were prison conditions and a hunger strike -- in the beginning of May -- by several prominent imprisoned opposition leaders. Other topics which provoked the ire of Taiwan’s censors were nepotism in the government, China’s participation in the Los Angeles Olympics, and articles containing criticism of the life-style of former president Chiang Kai-shek and other members of the presidential family.

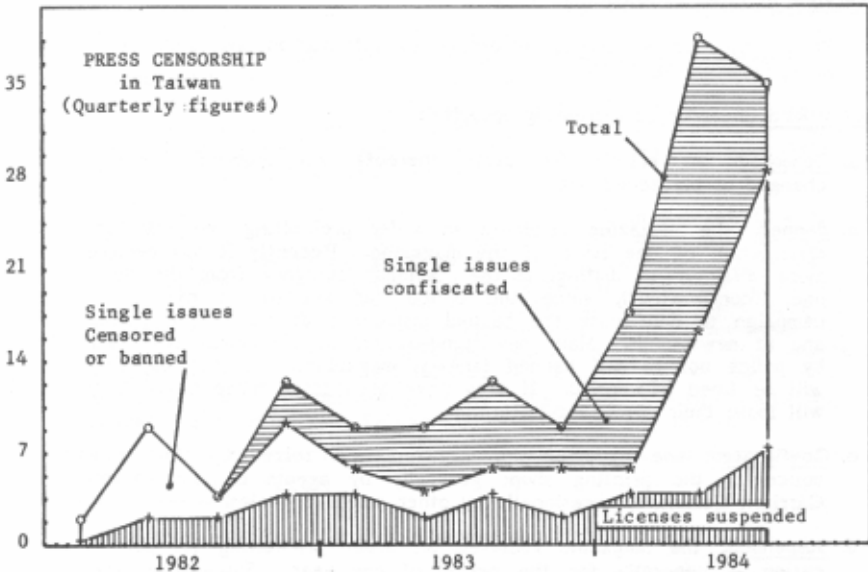
Overview of press censorship in Taiwan

1. Press-censorship statistics, according to information available to us on October 30, 1984:

Measures (in order of increasing severity):

- a. Censored:** an article (or parts thereof) was ordered deleted, changed or blackened out.
- b. Banned:** the magazine received an order prohibiting the sale and distribution of one issue of the magazine. Recently it has become more difficult to distinguish the “banned” category from the next one (“confiscated”), since the police has started an extensive campaign to confiscate the banned magazines at distribution points and at newsstands. Many newsstand-owners have recently been warned by police not to sell banned *tangwai* magazines. If they do, they will be fined NT\$ 4,800. If they have been fined three times, they will lose their newsstand-license.
- c. Confiscated:** one issue of the magazine was seized by the secret police at the printing shop; generally by agents of the Taiwan Garrison Command, occasionally by other police agencies.
- d. Suspended:** the magazine received an order prohibiting its publication -- generally for the period of one year. Suspensions are given after a weekly review, attended by representatives of the Taiwan Garrison Command (TGC), the Government Information Office (GIO), the Cultural Affairs Department of the KMT, and the Investigation Bureau of the Justice Ministry.

	ONE ISSUE OF A MAGAZINE			SUSPENDED FOR ONE YEAR	TOTAL ACTIONS
	CENSORED	BANNED	CONFISCATED		
TOTAL 1982	2	14	5	4	25
TOTAL 1983	2	10	16	6	34
<u>1984</u>					
January	-	-	4	2	6
February	-	1	-	-	1
March	-	1	8	2	11
April	3	1	4	-	8
May	1	1	10	2	14
June	1	5	9	1	16
July	-	15	1	5	21
August	-	3	4	1	8
September	-	3	2	-	5
October	-	3	6	1	10
RUNNING TOTAL FOR 1984	5	33	48	14	100



QUARTERLY STATISTICS ON PRESS CENSORSHIP IN TAIWAN
1982 — present

2. Specification for the period June 1, 1984 -- October 30, 1984

At the time of publication of *Taiwan Communiqué* no. 16 only partial information on confiscations and bannings for the months of June ' and July was available. The information below therefore covers the period starting on June 1, 1984 -- partially overlapping the information presented in issue no. 16.

Previous listings in *Taiwan Communiqué*:

Issue no. 13: for the period Jan. 1982 - July 1983;

Issue no. 14: for the period Aug. 1983 -- Nov. 1983;

Issue no. 15: for the period Dec. 1983 -- March 1984;

Issue no. 16: for the period Apr. 1984 -- July 1984;

<u>DATE</u>	<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>MEASURES</u>	<u>REASON</u>
<u>June</u>			
5	Care magazine no. 31	confiscated	Article about imprisoned opposition leaders, and an article about inhuman conditions in several prisons.
9	Progress Weekly no. 2	confiscated	Format and layout too similar to recently suspended "Progress World."
?	Independent Review	license rejected;	New magazine, Tuli P'ing-lun, 獨立評論, published by former editors of <u>Senh-kin</u> magazine. Reason for rejection: the word "Independent" in the title of the magazine.
11	The Movement no. 1	confiscated	First issue of <u>Hsin Tsao Liu</u> , 新潮流 (literal translation: "New Tide"); a new <u>tangwai</u> magazine. Article about working conditions in factories.
12	Neo-Formosa Weekly no. 1	confiscated	First issue of Mr. Huang T'ien-fu's new magazine "Neo-Formosa" (Fung-lai Tao, 蓬萊島); the name "Formosa" (Mei-li Tao) is still prohibited.
15	The Eighties no. 6	banned	?
16	Progress Weekly no. 3	confiscated	?
18	The Movement no. 2	confiscated	Article about problems facing the mountain aborigines.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>MAGAZINE*</u>	<u>MEASURES</u>	<u>REASON</u>
<u>June</u>			
19	Neo-Formosa Weekly no. 2	banned	?
20	The Statesman no. 19	censored	Article about former general Sun Li-jen, who opposed Chiang Kai-shek.
26	Neo-Formosa Weekly no. 3	banned	?
26	Progress Weekly no. 4	confiscated	Article about "anti-communist hero" Lao Cheng-wu, who used the name of top-security National Security Bureau to cheat NT\$ 5 million out of a Hong Kong businesswoman.
27	The Statesman no. 20	banned	By the Taiwan Garrison Command: Article about the position of President Chiang's younger brother Chiang Wei-kuo.
30	Democratic Time no. 2	banned	?
<u>July</u>			
1	The Eighties no. 7	banned	Article about PRC athletes preparing for the Los Angeles Olympics.
3	Neo-Formosa Weekly no. 4	banned	?
?	Neo-Formosa Weekly	<u>suspended</u>	
6	Taiwan Forum no. 4	banned	New magazine published by Mrs. Chang Hsi Jung-shu, <u>Taiwan Kuang Ch'ang</u> , (台灣廣場).
7	Democratic Time no. 3	banned	
?	Democratic Time	<u>suspended</u>	?
9	Neo-Formosa SI no. 1	banned	"Special issue" of <u>Neo-Formosa Weekly</u> . Sometimes the editors try to publish these after their regular magazine's license has been suspended -- usually without much success.
11	The Eighties	<u>suspended</u>	Article in issue no. 7 about PRC athletes preparing for the Los Angeles Olympics. The magazine will reappear as <u>The Asian</u> .

* SI refers to "Special Issues" of the magazines -- individual issues which were published after the publication license of that particular magazine had been suspended.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>MEASURES</u>	<u>REASON</u>
<u>July</u>			
15	The Eighties SI no. 1	banned	?
16	Neo-Formosa SI no. 2	banned	?
16	Exploration no. 1	banned	New magazine, <u>Kai T'ao</u> (<u>開拓</u>), successor of <u>Min Tzu Shih Tai</u> .
16	The Movement no. 6	banned	?
?	The Movement	<u>suspended</u>	Following article in issue no. 6, regarding ?
?	China Tide Review	banned	"Hsia Chao Lun Tao", magazine of unificationist group of writers. Reason for banning unknown.
20	Taiwan Forum no. 7	banned	?
21	The Statesman no. 23	banned	Article about the early background of President Chiang Ching-kuo.
?	The Statesman	<u>suspended</u>	Article in issue no. 23 about the early background of Chiang Ching-kuo. No new publication succeeded <u>The Statesman</u> .
23	Exploration no. 2	banned	?
23	Neo-Formosa SI no. 3	confiscated	?
27	Taiwan Forum no. 8	banned	?
30	Neo-Formosa SI no. 4	banned	?
<u>August</u>			
3	Taiwan Forum	<u>suspended</u>	?
6	Neo-Formosa SI no. 5	banned	?
13	Neo-Formosa SI no. 6	confiscated	?
16	Progress no. 21	banned	"Propaganda for the commu- nists" (??). No further specification available.
20	Neo-Formosa SI no. 7	confiscated	?
23	Progress no. 22	confiscated	?
27	Neo-Formosa SI no. 8	banned	?
31	Neo-Formosa SI no. 9	confiscated	14,000 copies of the maga- zine (including the prin- ting plates) were confis- cated because of an arti- cle titled "The marriages of Chiang Kai-shek" which described Chiang's three marriages before he married Soong Mei-ling.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>MAGAZINE</u>	<u>MEASURES</u>	<u>REASON</u>
<u>September</u>			
17	Northwest Rain no. 2	confiscated	An article about a temple in Keelung in which two statues of Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen were worshipped as deities.
20	Progress no. 26	banned	?
24	Northwest Rain no. 3	banned	Article criticizing Minister of Economic Affairs, Hsu Li-teh.
27	Progress no. 27	banned	An article about a singer from Taiwan who defected to the PRC in 1983.
29	Development no. 7	confiscated	<u>Development</u> magazine (Fa-chang, 發展), is a sister-publication of <u>Exploration</u> magazine (Kai T'o, 開拓).
<u>October</u>			
1	Northwest Rain no. 4	confiscated	?
1	Taiwan Tide no. 7	banned	Cover story, titled "Self-determination for Taiwan."
2	Northwest Rain	<u>suspended</u>	?
8	Taiwan Tide no. 8	confiscated	?
?	Wan Shui Review	banned	Publication in book form by writer Li Ao.
24	Progress Weekly no. 31	confiscated	Article about murder of journalist Henri Liu in San Francisco.
23	Neo-Formosa Weekly SI 12	confiscated	?
23	Development no. 10	confiscated	?
23	The Movement SI no. 20	banned	?
23	Firewood Weekly	confiscated	?

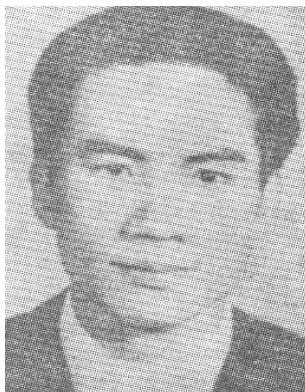
Political prisoners released

1. Lin Yi-hsiung and Kao Chun-ming released

On August 15, 1984 the Taiwan authorities announced that two of Taiwan's most prominent political prisoners were released. Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung -- a former member of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly -received a commutation of his 12-years' sentence (41 of which he had served), while Dr. Kao Chun-ming - General Secretary of the Taiwan Presbyterian Church - was released on parole. A conditional release was also granted to Mr. Hsu Ching-fu and to Ms. Lin Wen-chen.

Both were tried in May 1980 before a military court -- together with Dr. Kao -- on charges of harboring opposition leader Mr. Shih Ming-teh following the Kaohsiung Incident of December 1979. Mr. Hsu is a businessman, while Ms. Lin Wen-chen is the dean of the Calvin Bible School for Women of the Presbyterian Church. Ms. Lin was already released in October 1983 for medical treatment of a severe case of stomach ulcer.

Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung is the first of the “Kaohsiung Eight” to be released. His case had received wide international attention because his mother and twin-daughters were murdered on February 28, 1980 after he had complained that he had been tortured during interrogation. Mr. Lin had been told two days earlier by his interrogators not to tell his family about the “treatment” he had received during 42 days of interrogation, or else “unfavorable things” would happen to his relatives (see New York Times, March 26, 1980).



Mr. Lin Yi-hsiung

Dr. Kao's case had also been the focus of attention from the international community. In particular U.S. politicians, such as senators Edward Kennedy and Claiborne Pell and Congressmen Stephen Solarz and Jim Leach, and international church organizations, who consider Dr. Kao a victim of political persecution, have worked for his release. He had spoken out against human rights violations and against the lack of democracy on the island, and - just before his arrest on April 24, 1980 -- had led the Presbyterian Church in a move to rejoin the World Council of Churches.

Thus, of the original “Kaohsiung Eight”, the following persons are still in jail:



Dr. Kao Chun-ming

Mr. Huang Hsin-chieh (56) -- Former member of the Legislative Yuan, and publisher of Formosa Monthly magazine;

Mr. Yao Chia-wen (46) -- Taiwan's most prominent human rights lawyer; legal advisor to Formosa;

- Mr. Chang Chun-hung (46) -- Former member of the Provincial Assembly; chief-editor of Formosa;
- Mr. Lin Hung-hsüan (42) -- Theologian of the Presbyterian Church;
- Ms. Lü Hsiu-lien (40) -- Women's rights leader; vice-president of Formosa;
- Ms. Chen Chü (34) -- Deputy Director of Formosa's Kaohsiung office;
- Mr. Shih Ming-teh (43) -- General manager of Formosa;

Five of the seven persons mentioned above were sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. Mr. Huang received a sentence of 14 years, Mr. Shih was sentenced to life imprisonment.

2. *“Kaohsiung 33: one remains jailed*

On September 5, 1984 the Taiwan authorities released two of the three “Kaohsiung 33” prisoners who remained imprisoned, Mr. Tsai Yu-chüan (33) and Mr. Wang T’o (40). They were part of the group of thirty-three staff members and supporters of **Formosa Magazine**, who were arrested following the 1979 Kaohsiung Incident and who were tried in civil court in April and May 1980. The only person of this group who remains imprisoned is writer Wei T’ing-chao. Strangely, on July 27 1984, Mr. Wei was released from Kuei San prison, but he was immediately taken to Chingmei Detention Center near Taipei, and imprisoned there: the reason given by the authorities was that he had been released on probation in 1975, and because he had subsequently become politically active again (On the Formosa group in 1979) he is now required to complete the remainder of his old sentence (two years and eight months).

Mr. Tsai Yu-ch’uan is a theologian associated with the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Wang T’o is one of Taiwan’s most prominent novelists. The son of a poor fisherman, he worked his way through college and later through graduate school. He became famous when he published a novel based on his mother’s life story. His novels generally deal with working class people, such as fishermen, factory workers, or poor farmers. The year of 1978 was the watershed of his life. He ran for election for National Assembly in Keelung, his hometown. The authorities cancelled the election when the U.S. established ties with China. However, he continued his political activities, and participated in the Human Rights day celebration in Kaohsiung on December 10, 1979. He was subsequently arrested and sentenced to six years imprisonment.

Prison report

1. Lin Hung-hsüan moved to Green Island

On November 7, 1984 Mr. Lin's wife received a telephone call from the prison authorities that her husband had been moved to Green Island. She demanded an explanation and was told that her husband had been "uncooperative". Mr. Lin - a theologian who is one of the "Kaohsiung Eight" - had been serving his twelve-year prison term at An K'ang military prison just south of Taipei. Mrs. Hsu Jung-shu and Mr. Chang Chun-hsiung, two *tangwai* members of the Legislative Yuan asked the Ministry of Defense about the reasons for the transfer, and were told that Mr. Lin "did not accept reformatory education" and had "violated prison regulations."

The term "reformatory education" refers to a brainwash-type process of reading and writing assignments. According to informed sources in Taiwan Mr. Lin refused to read the assigned propaganda material and did not write reports on how his thoughts were "progressing." The reference to "violations" of prison regulations apparently concerned the fact that Mr. Lin often complained about unfair treatment in prison in his letters to his wife and relatives. On several occasions, Mr. Lin complained to the prison authorities about the early hour of exercise - from 6 am. to 6:30 a.m., and about the dirty drinking water. His requests for improvement were ignored by the prison authorities.

On September 28, Mr. Lin complained to his wife that for two months his letters to relatives were returned, undelivered. On October 26, Mr. Lin told his wife that when he inquired about the reasons why his letters were undelivered, he was told that his letters discussed national affairs, contained "untrue information" and went beyond the limit of 200 Chinese characters.

Mrs. Lin did not receive approval to visit her husband on Green Island until two weeks after the transfer. On November 24 she made the lengthy trip to the island, and spoke with her husband for about 30 minutes. He told her that the transfer had started on November 3rd and that on the 7th he had arrived on the island. He had been told he would be "closer to home" [technically this may be correct, since the couple live in Kaohsiung. However, for Mrs. Lin the trip to Green Island is much more cumbersome and costly than a trip to Taipei -- Ed.]. Mr. Lin also mentioned that he had been in *solitary confinement* since November 7. He was not given his personal belongings except a pair of underwear. He was not allowed to write and read. Pens, paper and books were forbidden. The prison authorities had informed him that this would continue for a trial period of three months.

2. Shih Ming-teh's health deteriorating

On September 12, 1984 Mr. Shih's sister, Shih Ming-chu, (who had not seen her brother since March 8, 1984) went to visit Mr. Shih in Green Island prison, but she was not allowed to meet him. She waited for a whole day, but had to return to Taitung without having seen her brother. A request by National Assembly-member Chou Ching-yu to visit Mr. Sih in prison was also turned down by the authorities. The pro-Kuomintang Chinese Association for Human Rights subsequently organized a delegation of three to visit Shih Ming-teh on September 22. The three were Prof. Lu Ya-li of National Taiwan University, KMT Control Yuan member Wang Chu-jung and KMT Legislative Yuan member Hung Chao-nan.

Hung said that a team of doctors from the army military hospital in Taitung had gone to Green Island to examine Shin Ming-teh, but Shih only allowed the team to X-ray him and refused further medical examination, saying that he did not trust the military doctors and wanted a private doctor to examine his back, which was giving him a considerable amount of pain. Shih also protested to the three visitors that he was treated in a discriminatory manner by the prison authorities. He said his letters to his family were often returned, undelivered. The prison authorities never responded to requests for an explanation. He also said that while other prisoners can receive visitors in a meeting room, he must talk to his visitors via a telephone, physically separated by a wall and a glass window. The conversation is interrupted frequently, particularly whenever it touches a sensitive subject.

3. Pai Ya-tsan on hunger strike

Mr. Pai - a long-term political prisoner who has been on Green Island since 1975 - began a hunger strike on September 30 in protest against the foreign policy of the Taiwan authorities, which is leading Taiwan into increasing international isolation. On October 19, Mr. Pai's sister was allowed to visit Green Island and see him behind a glass-window. She also had a 30-minute telephone-conversation with him. He started eating again on October 20.

Mr. Pai was arrested in 1975 when he was a candidate in local elections. He issued a list of 29 political questions which were evidently not well liked by the authorities: he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

4. Brutality by prison guards

Prison guard brutality and the lack of protection of prisoners human rights have long plagued Taiwan's penal system. The recent disclosure of several deaths of prisoners attributed to prison guard brutality prompted CARE magazine to organize a panel discussion, which took place on September 24, 1984. Two former political prisoners, Liu Feng-sung and Wang T'o, who were released in August and September of this year respectively, gave an eye-witness account of their experiences in prison. Below is a summary of what they said:

Mr. Liu said beating is a common practice in prison. Prisoners who "violate" rules and regulations were usually given a severe beating as punishment. But in many instances, prisoners were beaten for no apparent reason at all. He stated:

"When I was imprisoned in Tu-cheng Detention Center, my cell was only six meters away from the central platform 'where most of the beating took place. I could see and hear the beating clearly. I still have vivid memory of one incident when more than 40 prisoners were beaten by guards for causing trouble in their cells. After several rounds of severe beatings, the guards themselves became breathless and were drenched with perspiration. So the guards went to the bathroom, which happened to be across from my cell, to clean up. After having refreshed themselves, they resumed beating the prisoners. The last one was beaten most severely. He screamed and shouted for mercy. But the guards continued beating him until he was unconscious.

Beating occurred almost every day and is often given to prisoners who did not commit any mistake. One prisoner was given a beating because he let out a scream in his cell. Once a prisoner peered through the peephole in the door of his cell, but his eyes were met by the eyes of the guard who happened to be peering from the other side. The guard was offended and started beating the prisoner. A young man whose cell happens to be direct across from mine was beaten numerous times during his six months of imprisonment. Sometimes he was given a beating because he walked over to the window and looked outside.

Prisoners who are imprisoned on rape charges are the most easy target for beating. They are beaten at the whims of the guards. They are beaten several times a day. As to how they are beaten, it might not be proper for me to give a description in the public.

Beating of prisoners in Kuei-san prison, where I spent two years, takes place too, though not as often as in the Tucheng Detention Center. I could not see the beatings, but I could hear them loud and clear. One incident which gave me a vivid impression was the beating of an older prisoner in his 50's by a guard in his 30's. I heard his scream and his shouting for mercy "please don't beat me." I learned later that he was beaten with a whip.

From talking to my cellmates, all of whom had been beaten before, I learned that the most severe beating takes place in the juvenile delinquency center. A teenage cellmate who was just transferred from the juvenile delinquency center showed me the severity of the beating. His palms and the soles of his feet were swollen and were dark purple as a result of severe beating.

He told me that a special type of truncheons was designed for the beating of palms and soles. Just a couple of beatings from such an instrument cause agonizing pain. One youth told me he was given more than one hundred beatings.

The guards sometimes ask surrogates to do the dirty work. He takes the youth, whom he wants to be punished to another room and asked the youths there to "take care" of him, which means a round of beating.

Sometimes the youth is beaten openly in the courtyard so that all the other youths can see it from their rooms. This is called "demonstrative beating" as a warning to others not to violate the rules.

The most violent beating takes place in the basement. The youth is first put in a sack and then given blows of fists and kicks by several guards. In this way the youth cannot identify the guards who beat him.

One guard who has knowledge of acupuncture inflicts the most cruel punishment. He asks the youth to open his hand, then punctures his palm with a steel needle and then pulls the needle back. I know this guard's name. Perhaps I shouldn't mention his name here. I was told that the pain caused by the puncture of the needle is excruciating. But the wound is very small and disappeared a few days later.

This type of abuse cannot be uncovered during short, superficial inspection trips of officials or members of Control Yuan. I can vouch for the accuracy of what I have just said. I cannot present you all the evidence right here. I only hope that those youths who have been subject to these abuses would give testimony in court when they are released.

Though scholars and politicians often pay visits to prisons, they only see the outside appearance; they are not shown what really happens inside the dungeons. I remember our meals were significantly better when officials came to visit. The best meal I ever had in prison was when Dr. Y'ou Ching and three other members of the Control Yuan came for a visit.

The fundamental problem is that KMT authorities have until now pretended that these abuses do not take place. They must face the reality that mistreatment occurs frequently in our prison system. Ample documentation has been presented in the past. Writer Li Ao (who spent half a year in prison in 1982 -- Ed.) described a large number of cases in his series of articles. He wrote down where and when these incidents took place, and even gave names of people involved. However, the authorities said that Mr. Li Ao's writings were "just imaginations." If the authorities continue to maintain this attitude, then these abuses will just be covered up and more abuses will occur in the future. The problem will continue to exist, and there will be no justice."

Wang T'o said that he wholeheartedly supported Liu Fung-sung's testimony. He emphasized that when scholars and politicians visit prisons, they only see the facade put up by the prison authorities, they do not see what really happens inside. He said:

"When I was in prison, I read an article in the Central Daily about Taipei Prison (Kuei-san). The reporter described Taipei prison as if it was Paradise. He stated that because of the good management of Taipei prison an increasing number of criminals return to the prison. Such reports are really outrageous. No person in his right mind would give up his freedom in exchange for the "comfort" of being subjected to the humiliation of prison life.

Of all the abuses that I have observed, whipping is applied most often. I have seen guards soak the whip in the water first before using it on the prisoners. I have heard that a water-soaked whip can cause excruciating pain but leave very little trace of whipping. The most dreaded punishment is to be beaten by a group of guards simultaneously. This method of beating can easily kill a prisoner. Other abuses such as tying a prisoner to a stretcher for several days and nights, putting fetters on a prisoner, or hanging a prisoner upside down, are often mentioned by other prisoners, but I have never witnessed these myself.

I have witnessed prisoners being beaten by other prisoners, who serve as surrogates for the guards. Chiu Mao-nan [another political prisoner -- Ed.] and I protested

against this abuse, but to no avail. Prisoners who serve as surrogates receive many privileges, such as access to cigarettes and Kung Fu novels. They also have a better chance of parole. One surrogate serving a 10-year sentence was released after five years and three days. Both Liu Feng-sung and I know this person."

5. Two prisoners die: lack of medical care

In July of this year, two prisoners serving sentences for minor crimes died in Taiwan's prisons because they did not receive the required medical attention. Mr. Cheng Hsiao-lin, who was serving his sentence in Kuei-shan prison, died on July 6. He suffered from a severe case of diabetes. An appeal for release on bail on the ground that he was too ill to serve his sentence had been approved by the Prosecutor's Office of Hsinchu District Court, but the medical department of the prison insisted that Cheng remain imprisoned.

The other case was that of Mr. Yu Hsuan, who was serving a prison sentence for a minor crime in Tu-cheng Detention Center. Mr. Yu had a history of heart problems, and had even had a heart surgery in April 1984. Nevertheless his appeal for release on bail on medical grounds was also refused, and on July 14 he died.

Taiwan Communiqué comment: *Taiwan's bail system seems strangely distorted: two seriously ill men -- in prison for minor crimes -- cannot be released on bail, while five policemen, convicted for causing the death of an innocent taxi-driver in May 1982, have not spent a single day in prison, and one of them (the main culprit) was even able to leave Taiwan and now lives abroad.*

Articles and Publications

Wichita Eagle-Beacon: Censorship clouds Taiwan future

On September 26, 1984 Mr. George Neavoll, the Editorial Page Editor of this U.S. newspaper, published an excellent editorial about Taiwan. Below you find the full text of the editorial:

"Those who would like to support the government on Taiwan as it looks toward the island nation's future have been encouraged by some recent developments there. These

include the release of the Rev. Kao Chun-ming and five other prisoners of conscience, and the lifting of a directive ordering the closing of the Tainan Theological College. But news that Kuomintang officials set a new record for press censorship in the second quarter of this year resurrects old doubts about the sincerity of official claims of wanting to move toward democratic rule.

It also makes all the more regrettable the failure of Congress this week to call for the end of martial law on Taiwan in a proposed resolution that, at the same time, recognized the recent “steps to improve the human rights climate.” The censorship tabulation befouls that climate anew.

Magazines bore the brunt of the censorship, with 33 having been censored, suspended, confiscated or banned in the three-month period. This was three times the quarterly average of the previous two years. Foreign publications as well as the opposition press were affected. The April 2 issue of Newsweek, for example, was censored because its cover photo featured Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone’s visit to Peking. The April 12 issue of the **Asian Wall Street Journal** was confiscated because it contained an article by Dr. Trong R. Chai, a Taiwanese leader living in New York, about Taiwan’s future.

A number of new Taiwanese magazines arose during the period, but the first issues often were seized and the publication licenses of several were suspended almost as soon as they appeared. Of 11 issues of Free Time, one of the new publications, six either were banned or confiscated.

Does the Kuomintang government really have this much to fear from a free and independent press? If it does, that speaks volumes for the amount of popular support the government has. A massive rethinking of such policies is due if Taipei is not to alienate the very people -- at home as well as abroad -- who could be the most helpful in securing Taiwan’s nationhood.”

Washington Post: “Taiwan role probed in killing”

On October 18, 1984 this prominent U.S. newspaper published an article by staff writer Jay Mathews, giving evidence that agents of the Taiwan government may have been responsible for the murder of a prominent Chinese-American Journalist. Below you find some excerpts:

“The shooting death of Henry Liu, 52, in front of his home in Daly City south of San Francisco has raised the specter of undercover espionage by foreign agents in California’s largest Asian ethnic community. Liu had written several articles critical of the Nationalist Party ruling Taiwan. Surveillance and harassment of such critics here has drawn the attention of the FBI and the Congress for several years.

Daly City homicide detective Donald McCarthy said two men described as Asian in appearance, riding bicycles and wearing hooded sweatshirts, shot Liu twice in the chest and once in the face as he was loading his car at about 9:20 a.m. He had recently published a biography of Taiwan President Chiang Ching-kuo, “which was very critical of the government over there,” McCarthy said. (...)

Van S. Lung, owner of the Yenching Palace restaurant in Washington and a friend of the victim, said Liu told him recently that a representative of Taiwan had offered him \$40,000 if he would cancel publication of his Chiang biography. Louis Keng, a spokesman for the Coordination Council for North American Affairs, said he was not aware of the killing and could not comment. The council serves as the “unofficial” embassy of Taiwan under the agreement normalizing relations with the Chinese government in Peking.

A State Department official said assassinations by Taiwan agents are “certainly a possibility.” (...) He said officials on Taiwan have cracked down recently on publications writing about Chiang’s alleged illegitimate children, but Helen Liu said her husband deleted such material from his book.

A Senate staff report and several subsequent news accounts have reported an extensive Taiwan espionage system in [the United States], including a Senate estimate of 45 full-time agents in 1979. One FBI agent has reported an effort by Taiwan agents to use “criminal elements” in San Francisco’s Chinatown to procure U.S. torpedoes for the Taiwan navy illegally.

Liu was born in China and lived in Taiwan from 1948 until 1967, when he moved to Washington to work as a reporter for the Taiwan Daily News. He earned a master’s degree at the American University and then moved to San Francisco in 1978. His writing gradually became more critical of the Taiwan government he once supported. On Sept. 26 he returned from a visit to China, where he worked on a biography of Lung’s father, Lung Yun, the leader of Yunnan Province under the Nationalists.”

Notes

Theological College directive not implemented

In Taiwan Communiqué no. 16 we reported on the June 1984 directive from the Ministry of Education in Taipei to the Theological College of the Presbyterian Church in Tainan, ordering it to cease its operations. In August it became clear that the Taiwan authorities were under intense international pressure to rescind the directive: major Church organizations in Europe and the United States wrote to the Minister of Education, strongly protesting the directive. The international Church organizations argued that the college had functioned as an independent institution for more than 100 years, and that it was recognized as a prominent religious educational institution by the international Christian community. They stated that the directive constituted a violation of freedom of religion and thus damaged the image of Taiwan in the democratic nations of the world.

In the beginning of August 1984 a high official of the Ministry of Education visited the Theological College, assuring College officials that the Ministry did not intend to close down the College “unless it overextends its educational program outside the realm of theological education e.g. setting up an English Department or Department of Foreign Languages and Literature.” The Office of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taipei was also contacted by government officials about this matter. The office was assured that the whole affair was “a misunderstanding”, which shows that the issuing of the order was politically motivated, and so was the withdrawal of it. The worldwide concern and protests made the authorities realize that proceeding with this action would damage their already very poor image abroad.

During the month of August the College was able to administer the entrance examinations for its 109th academic year and admitted 79 out of 120 applicants. The regular session of the new academic year began without interruptions on September 23.
